

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7644

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 01738

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, GW, GE

SUBJECT: BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON GERMAN POLICY

SUMMARY: THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON GERMAN POLICY JANUARY

30 WAS MILD IN TONE AND RELATIVELY FREE OF POLEMICS.

SCHMIDT TOOK A HARD LINE, WARNING THAT IF THE GDR

CONTINUED TO CREATE OBSTACLES IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR

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THE FRG TO MOVE FORWARD IN INNER- GERMANY DISCUSSIONS.

HE GAVE A MODEST RECITAL OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND A CAUTIOUS FORECAST OF THE EXTENT AND SPEED OF FUTURE PROGRESS. SCHMIDT STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE FRG TO KEEP THE US AND THE USSR INTERESTED IN DETENTE. THE OPPOSITION URGED A MORE REALISTIC AND TOUGHER NEGOTIATING POSTURE AND DWELT PARTICULARLY ON THE NEED TO REAWAKEN AMONG GERMANS "A SENSE OF NATION AND LOVE OF FATHERLAND." END SUMMARY

1. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT OPENED WITH A GOVERNMENT DECLARATION ON THE STATE OF THE NATION. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE FRG'S POSITION THAT THERE ARE TWO STATES WITHIN ONE NATION SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS AN ATTEMPT TO IMPINGE ON GDR SOVEREIGNTY. HE THEN SAID THAT THE FRG WOULD CONTINUE TO STAND BY ITS POSITION THAT ALL "GERMAN CITIZENS" HAVE A CLAIM TO FRG DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR PROTECTION ABROAD.

2. SCHMIDT SAID THAT IT IS POINTLESS TO INVOKE IDEALS AND VIEWPOINTS NOT SHARED BY THE GDR LEADERSHIP AND AN ILLUSION TO BELIEVE THAT MERE PROTESTS BRING IMPROVEMENTS. HOWEVER, SAID SCHMIDT, DESPITE CONFLICTING FRG AND GDR INTERESTS, THERE ARE POSSIBILITIES FOR SOME RECIPROCAL SATISFACTION OF FRG AND GDR INTERESTS. SCHMIDT THEN RE/ERRED AGAIN TO THE DIFFICULTIES, MENTIONING THE GUILLAUME SPY CASE, GDR ACTIONS FOLLOWING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT AGENCY IN BERLIN, AND THE MINIMUM EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS. "IF THE GDR AGAIN LAKES UNILATERAL ACTIONS VIOLATING THE SPIRIT OR THE LETTER OF AGREEMENTS, WE WILL NOT SIMPLY BE ABLE TO MOVE ON TO THE NEXT ITEM ON THE AGENDA."

3. ON HIS LIST OF ITEMS ON WHICH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, SCHMIDT INCLUDED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT FRG AND GDR MISSIONS IN EAST BERLIN AND BONN, THE AGREEMENTS ON HEALTH, TRANSFER AND SPORTS, THE SWING AGREEMENT, THE WORK OF COMMISSIONS ON BOUNDARY QUESTIONS, TRAFFIC AND BERLIN TRANSIT, AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE GDR HAS RECENTLY BEEN MORE FORTHCOMING IN THE AREA OF UNIFICATION OF FAMILIES, ADDING, HOWEVER, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAT THE FRG HAS NO ILLUSIONS THAT SETBACKS IN THIS AREA ARE POSSIBLE.

4. REGARDING BERLIN, SCHMIDT SAID THAT A MAJOR EMPHASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS THIS YEAR WOULD CONCERN IMPROVEMENT OF TRAFFIC ROUTES BETWEEN BERLIN AND WEST GERMANY. "MANY OF THESE PROJECTS WILL PROCEED RELATIVELY QUICKLY. THE NEGOTIATION AND THE EXECUTION OF OTHER PROJECTS WILL

TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME." SCHMIDT THEN QUOTED A STATEMENT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER IN MOSCOW LAST YEAR: "THE POTENTIAL OF BERLIN BEING A CONSTANT POINT OF FRICTION IN EUROPE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY LESSENERED BY THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT. THE UNITED STATES REGARDS THE STRICT ADHERENCE TO THIS AGREEMENT AS A MAJOR TEST OF DETENTE."

5. SCHMIDT ASSERTED THAT IT WAS THE SPD/FDP GOVERNMENT WHICH, BY KEEPING THE TWO GREAT POWERS FROM SIMPLY PURSUING THEIR OWN AGENDA ITEMS, HAD ENSURED THAT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF THE 1970'S DID NOT ROLL OVER THE HEADS OF THE GERMANS. THE FRG, SAID SCHMIDT, CONTINUES TO HAVE AN IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON DEVELOPMENTS, BUT THE

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SUCCESS OF OSTPOLITIK DEPENDS ON US-USSR RELATIONS.
HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE FRG MUST WORK TO ENSURE THAT THE
SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN STATES REMAIN INTERESTED
IN DETENTE. "THAT IS THE REASON WE WANT EXPANDED
ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGES WITH
THE EAST, AND SUCCESS IN CSCE AND MBFR. THAT EXPLAINS
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OUR POSITIVE INTEREST IN SALT/"

6. SCHMIDT CLOSED BY SAYING THAT THE FRG SHOULD CON-
CENTRATE ON OVERCOMING THE STRIFE AMONG GERMANS WHICH
HAS BEEN PRESENT THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF THE GERMAN
NATION. HE SAID THAT THE "VITALITY OF THE SENSE OF
NATIONAL TOGETHERNESS" COULD NEITHER BE WEAKENED BY UNI-
LATERAL GDR DECISIONS NOR STRENGTHENED ONLY THROUGH WEST
GERMAN AFFIRMATIONS -- "WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS OUR
ACTIONS." HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PLEASED
IF GERMAN POLICY COULD BE PURSUED IN COOPERATION WITH
THE OPPOSITION.

7. CARSTENS THEN TOOK THE FLOOR FOR THE CDU/CS//, SAYING
THAT HE FOUND IT HARD TO TAKE SCHMIDT'S OFFER OF
COOPERATION SERIOUSLY IN VIEW OF THE CHANCELLOR'S
FALSIFICATION OF CERTAIN FACTS. HE TOOK ISSUE IN PAR-
TICULAR WITH THE IDEA THAT THE PROCESS OF DETENTE WOULD
HAVE IGNORED GERMAN INTERESTS IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR
THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT. CARSTENS ASKED: "WAS IT THE
AMERICANS WHO PUSHED THE FRG INTO RECOGNIZING THE GDR,
OR WAS IT NOT THE OPPOSITE -- THAT WE PUSHED THE
AMERICANS, WHO WERE HESITANT, INTO RECOGNIZING THE GDR?"
CARSTENS REPEATED THE CDU'S POSITION THAT THE FRG
SHOULD ADOPT A TOUGHER NEGOTIATING POSTURE TOWARD THE
EAST. HE MADE FIVE SUGGESTIONS: REGULAR MEETINGS OF
THE BUNDESTAG PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS IN BERLIN, KEEPING THE
GERMAN QUESTION OPEN IN THE EYES OF THE DOMESTIC AND
INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC, STRENGTHENING THE GERMANS' SENSE
OF HISTORY AS A NATION, GREATER ATTENTION TO VIOLATIONS
OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE GDR, AND "A REAWAKENING OF THE
GERMANS' LOVE OF FATHERLAND." CARSTENS THEN BECAME VERY
SENTIMENTAL AND BEGAN QUOTING POETRY, MUCH TO THE AMUSE-

MENT OF A NUMBER OF SPD PARLIAMENTARIANS WHO ENCOURAGED HIM TO SING THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

8. THE REMAINDER OF THE DEBATE PROCEEDED UNEVENTFULLY. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER SPOKE, EMPHASIZING THAT "PATRIOTISM" DOES NOT MEAN JUST NICE SOUNDING WORDS, BUT "TO TAKE ACTIONS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION."

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COMMENT: SCHMIDT'S PRESENTATION WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS UPBEAT THAN IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST, WHICH PERHAPS GIVES SOME INDICATION OF HOW HE WILL BE APPROACHING THE VARIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GDR. IT PROBABLY ALSO REFLECTS HIS AWARENESS OF A NEED TO SCALE DOWN POPULAR EXPECTATIONS. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE DEBATE WAS CONSIDERABLY FRIENDLIER THAN THE HEATED POLEMICS EXCHANGED ON THE FLOOR OF THE BUNDESTAG LAST DECEMBER. HOWEVER, THE PROSPECTS FOR A BIPARTISAN POLICY ON OSTPOLITIK IN THE NEAR FUTURE DO NOT APPEAR VERY GOOD. THE CDU/CSU APPARENTLY FEELS NO DOMESTIC POLITICAL NEED TO COME UP WITH AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY, SINCE IT EXPECTS TO BENEFIT FROM POPULAR DISAPPOINTMENT IN WHAT MANY WEST GERMANS CONSIDER THE MEAGER RESULTS OF OSTPOLITIK IN COMPARISON TO THE EXPECTATIONS WHICH WERE RAISED. END COMMENT

/HILLENBRAND

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